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ABSTRACT

Given the perspective of news as a significant cultural form, a study examined the symbolic world constructed by American newsmagazines, particularly investigating the dominant media frames (defined as consistent patterns of cognition and selection by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse) employed by these news organizations. The study analyzed coverage in "Newsweek," "Time," and "U.S. News and World Report" of a series of demonstrations in 1983, sponsored by European peace groups, designed to protest the deployment of American missiles in Europe. Textual analysis of news coverage examined the amount and tone, the attention to anticipated violence, the event orientation of the coverage, and the definition of the peace movement. Results indicated that all three newsmagazines, but especially "Newsweek," devoted much space to the story. Results also indicated that the dominant media frames defined the peace movement as illegitimate, irrational, and ineffectual, and that the issues raised by the demonstrations were ignored because of the coverage's event orientation and because of the attention devoted to the form of the protests. Content analysis showed that within the symbolic world constructed by the newsmagazines, the demonstrations were divorced from their political context. Findings suggest that the American news media defines foreign social movements in ways consistent with American foreign policy and military objectives, and that the hegemonic framing of these movements becomes most evident when they directly challenge American foreign policy. (A table of data is included and extensive notes are attached.) (MKA)

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MEDIA FRAMES AND THE DEFINITION OF A FOREIGN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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MEDIA FRAMES AND THE DEFINITION OF A FOREIGN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

ABSTRACT

This paper examines American newsmagazine coverage of a series of demonstrations, sponsored by European peace groups, designed to protest the deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Viewing news as a social construction of reality and as a significant cultural form, this paper explores the newsmagazine's definition of the European peace movement. The dominant media frames employed in the coverage delegitimized the peace movement and supported the political and military policies of the American government. This finding provides content analytic support for the view that the American news media's definition of social and political controversies perpetuates hegemonic ideology.

MEDIA FRAMES AND THE DEFINITION OF A FOREIGN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

Research on journalism has noted that news involves the "exercise of power over the interpretation of reality."[1] This paper examines a particular journalistic definition of reality by exploring American newsmagazine coverage of a series of demonstrations, sponsored by European peace groups, designed to protest the deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe.[2] Held in the autumn of 1983, these Action Week protests, the largest peace demonstrations in Western European history, received considerable coverage in Newsweek, Time and U.S. News and World Report. This paper specifically assesses how these news organizations defined the West European protest movement. In so doing, this analysis examines an area traditionally neglected by content research. Although numerous studies have examined American news media coverage of international affairs[3], few studies have explored the American news media's definition of foreign social movements.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Much of contemporary news research has focused on the organizational practices and procedures which shape news accounts.[4] This research emphasizes that news is socially constructed by journalists working within organizational and bureaucratic

settings; in turn, these settings influence the nature of newswork and the definition of news.

Gans, Gitlin and Tuchman share the position that news organizations through the production of their principal product -- news -- play a significant role in defining reality and in organizing social discourse. Gans, for example, contends that journalists help to manage the "symbolic arena"[5]; it is within this arena that debates concerning economic, political and social issues are conducted. Gitlin points out that the news media "name the world's parts, they certify reality as reality."[6] Tuchman argues that the "act of making news is the act of constructing reality itself."[7] Through their production staffs, writers, editors and reporters, news organizations construct "pictures" of sociopolitical reality and, as agenda setting research documents[8], these pictures often influence public perceptions of issues and events. News thus functions as a significant form of cultural production.

In a synthesis of materialist and idealist conceptions of culture, Williams advances a perceptive analysis of cultural forms -- such as news -- and their production.[9] He emphasizes that cultural forms are integral to the production of meanings and values in a society. In this view, cultural practices are not derived from an otherwise formed social order, but are themselves major elements in the social order's constitution.[10] Similarly, Carey reminds us that "reality is brought into existence, is produced by communication; that is, by the construction, apprehension and utilization of symbolic forms."[11] These viewpoints avoid

the theoretical difficulties of approaches to cultural works and cultural practices which assume that these artifacts and social processes are simply reflections of an existing society. They remain sensitive to the importance of cultural activity, including the production of news, in the definition of reality and in the construction of a society.

The significance of news as a cultural form may be even more pronounced in the reporting of foreign affairs. Lacking immediate contact with foreign events and issues, the American public is largely dependent on media reports for their information on international concerns. The American press, print and electronic, plays a decisive role in interpreting the meaning, relevance and significance of foreign events.[12] As centralized symbol -creating, -producing and -distributing organizations, Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News reach millions of readers each week with their definitions of international events and issues.[13]

Given the perspective of news as a social construction of reality and as a significant cultural form, this paper examines the symbolic world constructed by Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News in their treatment of the West European protests. Specifically, this paper investigates the dominant media frames exployed by these news organizations in their reporting on the West European peace movement. Media frames, according to Gitlin, are

> consistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol

handlers routinely organize discourse....[14]

A textual analysis of the newsmagazines' coverage reveals the common interpretive patterns embedded in their accounts of a foreign protest movement.

The dominant interpretive patterns in the reporting -- the emphasis on anticipated violence, the trivialization of the peace movement, the identification of protest as ineffective action, the definition of the protesters as political deviants, and the appraisal of the relationship between the movement and the superpowers -- delegitimized the peace movement and supported the political and military policies of the American government. These findings provide detailed content analytic support for the view that the American news media's definition of social and political controversies perpetuates hegemonic ideology;[15] that is, news media content supports the political status quo, delegitimates political opposition and, consequently, limits the range of ideas open for public discourse. Content studies in recent years have demonstrated that the news media's portrayal of domestic political controversies has supported the ideology and interests of established political institutions.[16] Dahlgren has extended this perspective to the reporting of international issues by documenting the hegemonic "ways of seeing" that informed news stories on the Third World.[17] Although limited to the newsmagazines' coverage of Action Week, the findings of this study support the interpretations advanced by Dahlgren and other researchers and suggest that hegemonic media frames become most evident in the reporting

of international affairs when American political and military initiatives are challenged directly.

The analysis of the newsmagazines' reporting concerning Action Week is divided into the following sections: the amount and tone of the coverage; the attention to anticipated violence; the event orientation of the coverage; the definition of the movement.

THE AMOUNT AND TONE OF THE COVERAGE

Table 1 indicates the amount of coverage devoted to the European antinuclear protests in the three newsmagazines.

Table 1

The Amount of Coverage Devoted to the Protests

	24 October	31 October	Total
Newsmagazine	Stories/Pages	Stories/Pages	Stories/Pages
Newsweek	3 / 8	1 / 1-1/3	4 / 9-1/3
Time	1 / 1	1 / 2	2 / 3
U.S. News and World Report	1 / 3	- / -	1 / 3
Total	5 / 12	2 / 3-1/3	7 / 15-1/3

Newsweek afforded far more coverage to the protests, both in the number of stories and in the number of pages devoted to these stories, than did the other newsmagazines. On 24 October, Newsweek's cover story examined the demonstrations and this single

article accounted for the majority of the newsmagazine's coverage.

Because of its more extensive coverage, Newsweek provided a more detailed treatment of the protest movement's character; however, the interpretive patterns found in Newsweek's coverage are similar to the media frames employed by Time and U.S. News. The reporting by all three newsmagazines was marked more by similarities than differences. With the exception of a Newsweek story on the nature of the peace movement[18], reportage concerning the organization and character of the European peace movement was scattered within individual news stories. Nonetheless, the newsmagazines provided a rather unified picture of the protest movement. The movement was depicted as ill-informed, naive and emotional in its evaluation of the deployment issue.

The newsmagazines set a dramatic tone for their coverage of the demonstrations. U.S. News, for example, contended that the protests had produced a "critical test of nerves" for the United States and its Western European allies. The magazine concluded that the "stakes in the showdown over Euromissiles are high."[19] Time reported on "mounting anxieties" and a sense of "heightened urgency" in Western Europe over the deployment of the American missiles.[20] The controversy was described as a "furor" and as a "fray" by Time and Newsweek, respectively.[21] Newsweek characterized talks between German Foreign Minister Hans Deitrich Genscher and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko as a "last gasp meeting."[22] Headlines in U.S. News and Time also helped to set a dramatic context for the reporting on the demonstrations:

"Now, the Showdown Over Missiles" and "Cold Winds and Heated Words."[23]

All three newsmagazines employed images commonly associated with war in their characterizations of the debates surrounding the decision to deploy the Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. U.S. News in its only story on the protests evaluated the strength of the peace or antinuclear "forces", assessed why the "main offensive of the antinuclear drive" was being "waged" in West Germany and noted the demonstrations had been "launched" in mid-October. This magazine thrice described the controversy as a "battle" over Euromissiles and noted that the Pershing missiles were the "target" of West German peace groups. The Soviet Union, according to U.S. News, had concentrated "its heaviest propaganda guns" on the Kohl government in Bonn.[24] Time reported that the "major offensive"[25] of the peace movement was conducted in West Germany. In response to the controversy in Western Europe, the Soviet Union, according to Time, had unleashed a "barrage of threats" and, in so doing, had pushed "its war of nerves with Washington over the missiles to a crisis point." The first Soviet "saber rattle" was contained in a warning that the Russians might withdraw from both the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces negotiations and Strategic Arms Reduction Talks.[26] A week later, Time continued to monitor developments on the "diplomatic front."[27] Newsweek, like U.S. News, described the controversy as a "battle;"[28] in fact, the magazine's cover story was entitled: "Battle Over Missiles." The European peace movement, according to

Newsweek, was conducting a "massive fall campaign" to block deployment. In this way, the rhetoric of war was used both to describe the activities of the peace movement and to define the nature of the controversy.

Other researchers have noted the journalistic reliance on war and often sports metaphors to describe political and social controversies.[30] The use of these compelling metaphors helps to transform debates on public policy issues into emotional conflicts. In setting a striking context for their coverage and in employing evocative metaphors to describe the controversy, the newsmagazines constructed dramatic stories on the demonstrations. These devices, however, also restricted the newsmagazine's treatment of the substantive issues that had generated the protests and, thus, may have inhibited a reader's understanding of the political content of the demonstrations. Moreover, the dramatic tone of the coverage, with its metaphors of war and conflict, reinforced the newsmagazines' emphasis on the expected violence accompanying the protests. In this sense, form and content combined to produce a particular way of seeing, a way of seeing that both emptied the demonstrations of their political content and affirmed the potential for violence within the protests.

THE ATTENTION TO ANTICIPATED VIOLENCE

The newsmagazines' treatment of the violent or non-violent tendencies within the peace movement was essentially ambivalent. Although all three newsmagazines reported that the movement was predominately peaceful in its methods, considerable attention was

given to the isolated incidents of violence during the demonstrations and to the threat of violence that existed in the movement's activities. U.S. News particularly emphasized the frame of anticipated violence. A headline introducing the magazine's examination of the planned protests in West Germany articulated this frame: "West Germany: The Fear of Antinuclear Violence." After acknowledging that the movement was "mostly peaceful", U.S. News reported that "radicals in recent months have engaged police in pitched battles." The existence of "revolutionary cells" was a further indication of the potential for violence within the movement. U.S. News also cautioned that there was "the added worry that terrorist groups might use the protests as a cover for attacks on American bases and soldiers."[31]

In contrast to its portrayal of the potential for violence in the demonstrations, U.S. News characterized West European and American authorities as committed to retaining order and avoiding violence. The newsmagazine reported that the "biggest concern for the West Germans and the Americans is to keep the protests here [in Mutlangen] and elsewhere from flaring into violence." The use of the word "keep" implied that the movement or at least parts of the movement needed to be restrained from violence. In contrast, the American command in West Germany was "anxious to avoid confrontation" and, consequently, was preparing to restrict American soldiers to their bases. With this context, West German and American officials "fretted" over how to deal with the protests; in the initial demonstrations, the authorities had treated the

protestors "gingerly".[32] Within the symbolic world constructed by U.S. News, West German and American authorities were cautious and responsible; in contrast, elements within the peace movement were irresponsible and prone to violence.

Time and Newsweek devoted less attention to the threat of violence in the demonstrations than U.S. News. Yet, this remained an important emphasis in their initial coverage. Time's lead paragraph in its story on 24 October illustrates this concern.

> The first major confrontation promised to be unpleasant. White-helmeted riot police in armored cars faced more than 2,500 antimissile demonstrators outside a U.S. Army barracks near the North Sea port of Bremerhaven, West Germany. As the protestors attempted to blockade the American installation, police laid down oversize coils of barbed wire and erected barricades on access roads, sealing off a perimeter a mile from the base. At one point, a military vehicle was accosted by demonstrators who scrawled PIGS and NO WAR on its side. Some 250 activists were dragged away, and water cannons were turned on hundreds more. There were few injuries, however, and the formal beginning of Western Europe's "hot autumn" of antimissile protests was relatively peaceful. Not many Europeans

were convinced that the antimissile campaign would stay that way.[33]

The characterization of the beginning of the protests as "relatively peaceful" was literally lost in a blizzard of descriptions which evoked the mood of actual or potential violence (for example, "white-helmeted riot police", "barricades", "military vehicle", "accosted", "dragged away", and "water cannons".) The concluding sentence of the lead paragraph affirmed the newsmagazine's attention to the "unpleasant confrontation," while continuing the media frame of anticipated violence. This emphasis was underscored further by the caption of the accompanying photograph: "The first confrontations were relatively peaceful, but few expected them to stay that way".[34]

Newsweek also stressed the potential for violence in the peace movement. In the lead paragraph of its cover story on the protests, Newsweek reported that the demonstration in Bremerhaven included "a handful of punkish radicals spoiling for a fight;" although the demonstrators "behaved themselves," events took an "ugly turn" when three American soldiers were "quickly surrounded by jeering demonstrators."[35] A similar reassurance concerning the generally peaceful intent of the protesters was quickly followed by the threat of potential violence.

> Except for a few hotheaded anarchists, the demonstrators intended to march without violence. But as Action Week approached, some of them began to suggest that "violence against

things", as distinct from people, was acceptable.[36]

Newsweek later reported that the movement had "an undercurrent of potential violence."[37]

The newsmagazines' emphasis on the threat of violence in the protests was underscored powerfully by their selection of photographs in their initial stories on Action Week. The majority of the photographs depicted confrontations between the police and the protesters, thus belying the characterization of the movement as generally peaceful and simultaneously reinforcing the media frame of anticipated violence. In its initial story on Action Week, Time published a photograph of West German police carrying off a demonstrator. Similarly, in one of its two photographs on the initial demonstrations, U.S. News showed British police dragging a protester from a demonstration. Newsweek published three photographs directly concerning the demonstrations in its first story on the protests. One of these photographs pictured a peaceful rally in Britain. The other two photographs depicted violent confrontations between demonstrators and West German police. Appearing on the first page of Newsweek's cover story, the larger of the two photographs showed helmeted West German police, backed by water cannons, dispersing a crowd of protesters. The caption read: "Turning water cannons on demonstrators in Bremerhaven; a sit-in blockade and an ugly flash of anti-Americanism."[38] The caption placed the violence within the particular context of anti-Americanism, an important emphasis in Newsweek's coverage. The

photograph and the caption affirmed the headline for the story: "Battle Over Missiles." The second photograph showed two West German policemen clutching a protester by his throat.

In all, of the six photographs depicting the protests in the initial stories on Action Week, four pictured confrontations between the police and demonstrators. Consequently, despite the characterizations of the movement and the protests as generally peaceful, the photographs employed to illustrate the articles told a different "story". This different and more dramatic story powerfully contributed to the media emphasis on the isolated incidents of violence during the protests and reinforced the media's frame of anticipated violence. In a perceptive analysis of the significance of photographs in news, Hall argues that

> News photos have a specific way of passing themselves off as aspects of 'nature'. They repress their ideological dimensions by offering themselves as literal visual-transcriptions of the 'real world'. News photos witness to the actuality of the event they represent. Photos of an event carry within them a meta-message: 'this event really happened and this photo is the proof of it'.... Photos, then, appear as records, in a literal sense, of 'the fact' and speak for themselves. This is what Barthes calls the 'having been there' of all photographs.... Of

> course, the choice of this moment of an event as against that, of this angle rather than any other, indeed, the selection of this photographed incident to represent a whole complex chain of events and meaning, is a highly ideological procedure.[39]

The selection of photographs depicting violent confrontations between police and demonstrators dramatically illustrated the initial stories on Action Week. At the same time, given the significance of pictorial images in news stories, these photographs helped to negate the scattered characterizations of the movement as generally peaceful by displaying the "real world" of the protests. The photographs affirmed the media's emphasis on violence and their frame of anticipated violence.

The media frame of anticipated violence and the emphasis on the isolated incidents of violence within the demonstrations divorced the protests from responsible political discourse, identified the movement's activities as a form of political extremism and equated dissent with disturbance and upheaval.

THE EVENT ORIENTATION OF THE COVERAGE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF ANTICIPATED VIOLENCE INTO SPECTACLE

Newsweek and Time noted the absence of violence in the protests in their retrospective articles on Action Week. Newsweek characterized the rallies as "huge but peaceful;" in a headline,

Time described the demonstrations as "The Weekend That Was: A Peace Movement Peacefully Masses Against Missiles.'"[40] Neither newsmagazine made reference to its predictions concerning the threat of potential violence in the protests. The frame of anticipated violence was not re-examined in light of the peaceful character of the protests.

The scope and form of the demonstrations were the two major emphases in the stories appearing on 31 October. The following quotations are indicative of the attention to the scope of the demonstrations.

> On Saturday some 700,000 West Germans massed in four cities--Bonn, Hamburg, Stuttgart and West Berlin--in an act of dissent they hoped would mark a turning point in their nation's history. On that same day in London, upwards of 200,000 Britons marched through the streets to a rally in Hyde Park. In Vienna, Stockholm, Rome, Paris, Dublin, Helsinki, Brussels and Madrid, as well as in dozens of towns and cities throughout the U.S. and Canada, the worldwide peace movement stretched its legs and shouted its challenges.[41]

> In London, 200,000 antiwar demonstrators poured into Hyde Park. Hundreds of thousands more marched in Rome, while in neutral Vienna 100,000 protesters filed through the streets.

> But it was in West Germany that last week's campaign against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe reached its peak. More than 1 million Germans turned out on Saturday.[42]

These and similar passages answered the traditional journalistic questions of who, what, where, when and why.

Newsweek and Time also devoted considerable attention to the form of the demonstrations. Newsweek, for example, noted that some of the West German protesters "formed a solid human chain between NATO military headquarters and a Pershing missile base at New-Ulm, 70 miles away." In a description of a protest march in Italy, the newsmagazine reported that the "marchers all threw themselves to the ground to symbolize the slaughter of nuclear attack."[43] With similar attention to the form of the protests, Time observed that "thousands of marchers slowly formed a human star, several miles around, whose points linked the embassies of the world's nuclear powers." In another demonstration, according to Time, "hooded men in Ku Klux Klan robes hauled a float carrying six models of silver Pershing II missiles, as four white-faced death figures walked behind."[44] Both newsmagazines focused their attention on specific details related to the protests. Newsweek, noted that many of the demonstrators in Bremerhaven carried "jugs of coffee or foam cushions," while Time reported that feminists, "many of them in mourning clothes," marched in West German towns.[45] Considerable attention, then, was devoted to the form of

the demonstrations. This finding corresponds to Corcoran's observation that the newsmagazines routinely emphasize colorful anecdotes and scene setting facts in their reporting of events and issues.[46]

Flowing from its detailed attention to the form of the demonstrations, Time defined the protests as spectacle and theatre. The demonstrations were characterized as an "impressive spectacle," as an "extravaganza," as an "affair" and as a "display".[47] Action Week, according to the newsmagazine, was a "calculated crescendo of peace rallies." Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt was the "main attraction" of a demonstration in Bonn. The protests in West Germany, according to Time, "took on the air of a nationwide picnic."[48] For its part, Newsweek portrayed the demonstrations as a form of frivolous action. For example, Newsweek described the "mood" of a particular demonstration as "down-right cozy." According to the newsmagazine, "good-natured policemen" removed "good-natured demonstrators" from their road-side sit-in. The frivolous tone continued as Newsweek reported that "one protester...had been hauled away four times...." Others apparently were not so lucky because Newsweek noted that Daniel Ellsberg, one of the "high-profile peaceniks" attending the rally, "made no secret of his wish to be thrown in jail, but the police failed to oblige him."[49] Time's and Newsweek's descriptions of the demonstrations as spectacle, theatre and forms of frivolous action diminished the substantive importance of the protests. As spectacle and theatre, the protests were divorced from politics and

severed from a meaningful debate on a public policy issue. This portrayal assumes added importance in Time's account of the protests because this newsmagazine devoted very little coverage to the character of the peace movement.

Although the demonstrations provided the American newsmagazines with an opportunity to examine the debate between advocates of deployment and the European peace movement, this opportunity was not seized. In part, the event orientation of the coverage and the emphasis on the form of the demonstrations served to severely restrict reporting on the issues that had generated the protests. News stories as narratives tend to focus their attention on dramatic, conflictual and discrete events. This narrative structure is less amenable to detailed examinations of political issues and social processes.[50] In her organizational analysis of newswork, Tuchman concludes that

> The tempo of newswork . . . mandates an emphasis on events, not issues. Events are concretely embedded in the web of facticity, the who, what, where, why and how of the traditional news lead. Issues are not; they are based on analytic explanations of the everyday world as a socially experienced structure.[51]

Although the newsmagazines are not confronted with the daily deadline pressure of newspaper and electronic journalism, their emphasis on discrete events and their efforts to construct "prose pictures"[52] through the use of scene setting facts remain

important characteristics of their reportage. In the highly stylized reporting of the newsmagazines, attention to dramatic events and scene setting facts frequently has precedence over the detailed examination of issues. Their reporting on Action Week manifests these tendencies.

Furthermore, the demands of journalism and the motivations of social movements often appear directly at odds. Tuchman, for example, writes

> The discrepancy between the approaches of newsworkers and members of social movements is a conflict between craft as consciousness and the more analytical consciousness of the social movement.... The activities and temporal orientations of newswork and those of social movements are antithetical. Necessarily, then, just as newswork transforms occurrences into events, so, too, it must transform the thrust of issues (as defined by proponents of a social movement) as it shapes them into news stories.[53]

The complex interaction between social movements and the news media is in large part a struggle over the process of definition; that is, the interaction centers on the almost simultaneous definition of the movement's aims, purposes and methods by members of the movement and by the media. For a social movement, demonstrations and other activities are events designed to attract

public and media attention to particular issues. The newsmagazines' coverage of Action Week indicates, however, that news stories often primarily focus on the discrete events and their form, rather than on the issues the protesters had hoped to raise. Gitlin and Halloran, Elliott and Murdock demonstrate a similar process at work in their analyses of news media coverage of protests against the Vietnam war.[54] Similarly, Tuchman and Morris document the news media's lack of attention to the substantive issues raised by the women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[55] These studies indicate that social movements have a difficult time in placing their political arguments on the media agenda because of the organizational routines of journalism and because of the common emphases in news content.

THE DEFINITION OF THE MOVEMENT: THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIAL PROTEST

A common interpretive pattern found in the coverage centered on the ineffectiveness of the protests. According to the newsmagazines, the demonstrations were incapable of stopping the deployment of the new American missiles and were, consequently, futile.

Newsweek particularly stressed the ineffectiveness of the protests. The headline of its cover story established this emphasis: "Battle Over Missiles: Antinuclear Protests Sweep Europe--But Won't Stop Deployment." In this and subsequent articles, Newsweek stressed the futility of the demonstrations.

> The campaign is almost certain to fail.[56]
>
> The European demonstrators know that their massive outpouring won't stop deployment.[57]
>
> Most of the marchers realized that they had no hope of winning.[58]

U.S. News concurred in this assessment. In its reporting on the British peace movement, the magazine concluded: "There is no chance that they can sway the conservative Thatcher government from its pro-missile course".[59] Time concluded that the demonstrations would not spur American and Soviet negotiators to reach an arms agreement in Geneva and, thereby, avert deployment. "Most protesters," according to Time, realized that their efforts to blockade American military bases would not lead to a reversal of American policy on the missiles. Finally, by use of a metaphor, Time questioned the ability of the movement to influence the diplomatic community: "Armbanded marshals kept the river of humanity flowing easily past empty ministries and shuttered foreign embassies."[60]

The self-acknowledged inability of the movement to block deployment, according to the newsmagazines, was an indication of the futility of the demonstrations. This view merged with the newsmagazines' lack of attention to the arguments raised by the peace movement against deployment in particular and against the concept of nuclear deterence in general to produce a view of organized protest as an ineffectual exercise. Within the

newsmagazines' accounts, the movement was faced with a closed circle: it could not block deployment, nor could it justify its protests by pointing to the issues and concerns that had generated the demonstrations.

THE DEFINITION OF THE MOVEMENT: THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE PROTESTS

Varied framing devices were employed in the definition of the European protest movement. Generally, the newsmagazines depicted the movement as naive, ill-informed, emotional and misguided in its actions. They devoted little attention to the beliefs and organizational structure of the movement. For example, the newsmagazines did not examine the principal peace groups in Western Europe: The British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council and the German Action for Reconciliation. These groups played a significant role in organizing the protests. The political ideology of the Green Party, a major force in the German protests, remained unexamined in the coverage. These patterns of exclusion correspond to the results of past studies which indicate that the American news media devote little attention to the ideological dimensions of foreign news developments.[61]

The symbolic world constructed by Newsweek, Time and U.S. News contained few references to the motivations and issues that had generated the largest peace demonstrations in Western European history. The movement's perspectives on the concept of

of Soviet and American military capabilities in Europe and its call for a nuclear free zone in Europe were not examined in the coverage.

In scattered references, the newsmagazines did report that the peace movement was supported by diverse elements in West European society: Catholic and Protestant church groups, feminists, intellectuals, students, labor groups, radicals and anarchists. The diversity of the movement, however, frequently was characterized as a weakness, rather than as a strength. For example, U.S. News contended that "feminism, lesbianism, solidarity with women in Iran and other controversial issues have supplanted the initial purpose" of the protests at Greenham Common in England.[62] Similarly, Newsweek reported that "the women camped at Greenham Common have become so absorbed in militant feminism that they have lost touch with the mainstream peace movement."[63] While minimizing the links between the feminist movement in Western Europe and European peace groups, these reports viewed the pluralism of the European protest movement as a source of friction, rather than as an indication of the wide appeal of the movement's aims.

Newsweek adopted a denigrating tone in its portrayal of special events designed to portray the diverse membership of the West German peace movement.

> By then [the end of the demonstrations], the industrious German organizers will have held a special "day" for just about everyone --

> Christian day, and women's days, days for workers and students, a day for draft dodgers (antimilitarists if you prefer) and even a day for politicians.[64]

These special events are denigrated in a number of ways. The events are contrived ("the industrious German organizers") and frivolous ("a special 'day' for just about everyone"). The use of quotation marks around the world "day" implicitly questions the relevance and significance of these activities. Newsweek calls particular attention to the political orientations of the word "antimilitarist" but ignores the implicit political orientations of its phrase "draft dodgers."

Time, although less strident than Newsweek in its characterizations of the protests, portrayed the movement as naive and ill-informed. For example, Time reported that the movement "uses a variety of arguments [against deployment], some of them matters of debate, but some deeply flawed."[65] While the magazine never explored the "matters of debate", it did contend that the movement overstated its charges that the new missiles increased Soviet vulnerability to a nuclear first strike. Time concluded that the peace movement "may be overly emotional and at times ill-informed", but it had developed the "notion" among Europeans that they had a right to influence their governments' nuclear policies.

U.S. News provided no coverage of the peace movement's arguments against deployment. Beyond its emphasis on the potential threat of violence in the demonstrations and its attention to the

strategic problems facing British peace groups, U.S. News provided few characterizations of the European peace movement. It did label the Greenham Common protesters as political deviants by reporting that the demonstrators included "society's dropouts and women on the dole."[67] The definition of the protesters as political deviants also played an important role in Newsweek's coverage.

Somewhat ironically the newsmagazine with the most coverage devoted to the protests -- Newsweek -- constructed the harshest view of the movement and its aims. The lead sentences of Newsweek's cover story on the protests established the magazine's general emphases on the peace movement.

> The 3,000 demonstrators were a motley cross section of the European peace movement: pacifists, leftists, ecologists, feminists and earnest churchgoers, along with a handful of punkish radicals spoiling for a fight with the police. Most of them were young, but obviously accustomed to this sort of thing.[68]

The lead established three interpretive patterns which were evident throughout Newsweek's coverage: the protesters were political deviants ("a motley cross section" and consequently, were divorced from the mainstream of Western European society); the protesters were chronic malcontents ("most of them were young, but obviously accustomed to this sort of thing"); the potential for violence existed within the movement's activities ("punkish radicals spoiling for a fight").

Newsweek further divorced the movement from mainstream European society by reporting that the "missile protest has spread beyond the fringe of respectable society to the belligerent autonomen, anarchists who want to destroy 'the whole swinish system'".[69] In this characterization, Newsweek damns the movement with faint praise ("the fringe of respectable society") and emphasizes the possible violence in the protests.

Newsweek's almost relentless denigration of the movement reached its peak in the two page article, "Children of Protest."[70] The title set the dominant frame of the entire article: the peace movement, in action and in thought, was dominated by children, not adults. In the article, Newsweek characterized the protesters in the following ways: "the children of protest;" "the rebellious youth of Western Europe;" "the kids of Autumn;" "the European kids of 1983;" "European youths;" "European kids;" "the young people of Germany;" "the youth movement;" "Dutch and Scandinavian youngsters;" "the kids." Newsweek also described the movement's "youthful negativism" and the magazine linked the protests to "young people's discontent." In all, Newsweek described the protesters as children, youths or kids eighteen times in the article. The use of these descriptions evoked images of a movement dominated by naive, impetuous, irresponsible and impressionable members.

Beyond these characterizations of the demonstrators, Newsweek constructed other images that served to denigrate the movement and to reinforce the "child-like" nature of the protests. For

example, the children of protest were direct products of their social setting; more accurately, within the Newsweek text, their social environment had determined their beliefs and actions.

> They have grown up witnessing protest as a way of life. In May 1968, they watched their older brothers and sisters sweep to the barricades of Western Europe on a wave of unfocused, idealistic discontent. In the late 1970s they cut their own teeth with demonstrations against nuclear power plants and other ecological hazards. Since the summer of 1979, the rebellious youth of Western Europe have united as never before against NATO's plans to modernize its nuclear forces....[71]

Nurtured in an environment dominated by political disturbances and reared in a climate of social upheaval, the young demonstrators accept protest as a "way of life." Within the symbolic world constructed by Newsweek, their opposition to the deployment of American missiles is a natural condition, not a product of rational thought, not even a product of choice. The "children of protest", according to Newsweek, are spoiled ("a privileged lot -- the direct beneficiaries of an unprecedented period of sustained economic growth"), malleable ("trained by battalions of idealistic schoolteachers to empathize with the Third World") and pensive ("Their abundant propaganda betrays a wistful yearning to identify with the poor and downtrodden").[72] According to the newsmagazine,

political protests have displaced other adolescent leisure activities.

> For hundreds of thousands of German, Dutch and Scandinavian young people, workshops on non-violence and vigils for Nicaragua have replaced soccer matches and Saturday night movies as standard leisure activity. Pressure to conform is intense.[73]

Newsweek, thus, trivialized the protesters' political activity by defining it as the functional equivalent of soccer matches and Saturday night movies. In keeping with the general interpretive frames evident in the article, protest becomes part of the passage from childhood to adulthood. And, as a rite of passage, political protest becomes an emphemeral action. The demonstrations against the deployment of the American missiles, according to Newsweek, were rooted in the social environment of the protesters, rather than in their political beliefs and values.

Newsweek's presentation of the geneology of protest is not fully integrated; it is marked by a major inconsistency. The protesters were the products of their European social environment, but they were also directly influenced by factors external to their social setting.

> In many respects, the European kids of 1983 resemble the young Americans of the 1960s who marched to end the war in Vietnam and assert the rights of blacks and women. Sometimes

> their movement -- with its informality, its sudden enthusiasms and its undercurrent of potential violence -- appears to be a direct import, like country music or McDonald's hamburgers.[74]

This passage negates the continuity of the West European protest movement (a continuity which was negatively portrayed in the article), reinforces the media frame of anticipated violence and trivializes the movement by comparing it to other American "imports", country music and McDonald's hamburgers.

DEFINITION THROUGH OPPOSITION: THE MOVEMENT AND THE SUPERPOWERS

The newsmagazines also examined the protests through their definition of the relationship between the movement and the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The newsmagazines described the movement as directly or indirectly aiding the Soviet Union by weakening NATO's defense capabilities and by damaging the "consensus" over Western defense policies.

All three newsmagazines contended that the Soviets derived strategic political advantages from the peace movement's activities; the newsmagazines also asserted that the Soviet Union sought to maximize these gains. The Soviets, for example, "sought to fuel the antinuclear campaign"[75] and "stirred the pot"[76] by threatening countermeasures if the missiles were deployed. Given the strength of the German peace movement, the Soviet Union "concentrated its heaviest propaganda guns on Bonn".[77] Time

repeatedly linked Soviet political activities to the activities of the peace movement.

> While organizers were putting the final touches on plans for coordinated demonstrations across Western Europe this week, Moscow was doing its best to turn up the diplomatic pressure on the government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl.[78]

> The timing of the [Soviet's] new barrage of threats was clearly calculated to heighten the anxiety among West Germans just as the anti-missile demonstrations heat up.[79]

> The calculated crescendo of peace rallies took off during a week in which the Soviet Union chose to brandish the stick instead of the carrot at the Western allies.[80]

U.S. News directly linked the efforts of the peace movement and the aims of Soviet foreign policy: "The peace movement and the Soviets are expected to continue a campaign aimed at limiting the number of American missiles based in Europe."[81] In this way, according to the newsmagazines, the Soviets attempted to benefit from the peace movement's activities and hoped to "drive a wedge between Washington and its allies."[82] Within the newsmagazine accounts of the demonstrations, the existence of the peace movement enhanced Soviet foreign policy aims.

In contrast to the symmetry between the movement's goals and Soviet foreign policy objectives, Time and Newsweek characterized the peace movement as anti-American. Time reported that the debate over missile deployment was a "symptom" of increased patriotism and nationalism among West European "leftists". In turn, these leftists were "increasingly resentful of U.S. leadership of the alliance." Time also reported that an appeal by Ronald Reagan to the demonstrators "fell mainly on deaf ears."[83] For its part, Newsweek contended that the "movement has a strong and unmistakable streak of anti-Americanism."[84] "Some of the demonstrations," according to the newsmagazine, had a "distinctly anti-American flavor."[85] Although the protesters hold "ambivalent feelings" toward the Soviet Union, they accept on "faith" the Soviet desire for peace, but appear "unwilling to make the same concession in the case of Ronald Reagan."[86]

Although U.S. News did not characterize the movement as anti-American, it joined Time and Newsweek in reporting that the protests jeopardized the West's political and military alliance. U.S. News asserted that "Western defense solidarity would be put to its most extreme test" in West Germany because of the strength of the German peace movement. Relying on the views of "allied leaders," U.S. News reported that the cancellation of missile deployment "would be seen as a major failure for NATO and a signal success for the Soviets."[87] Time contended that the protests in Germany indicated a "deep questioning" of the "postwar, political consensus on defense and foreign policy."[88]

In comparison to U.S. News and Time, Newsweek was far more strident in its characterizations of the protests' negative consequences. The demonstrations and debates over deployment placed "the credibility of NATO at risk." Deployment was characterized as the "prime test of Allied resolve" and as a "crucial test of NATO's will." The new missiles, according to Newsweek, would put "new muscle in NATO's vast but obsolenscing arsenal of shorter-range atomic weapons...." In contrast to the "sudden enthusiasm" of the peace movement, Newsweek described the decision to deploy the Pershing and cruise missiles as "NATO's carefully considered and painfully achieved response" to the Soviet's deployment of SS-20 missiles. In this sense, deployment was both a "military requirement" and a "political imperative."[89] With the absence of the movement's arguments against deployment in the newsmagazine's stories, Newsweek presented an integrated defense of the actions of the West European and American governments.

The implications of the movement's action on the Western alliance were severe, according to Newsweek. Anticipating the successful deployment of the American missiles, Newsweek contended that the "youthful negativism" of the peace movement could undermine "the broad consensus on which European political life has been based since World War II." The resulting "polarization of West European politics could "fatally undercut the credibility of Western defense" and, consequently, encourage "Soviet aspirations to Finlandize the area." The Western alliance was faced with a "gathering dilemma," a dilemma produced by the peace movement

because of its lack of support for traditional political and military policies.[90] In Newsweek's account, the questioning of the West's political and military consensus threatened the Western alliance itself and encouraged Soviet expansionism. Dissent was transformed into political suicide.

CONCLUSION

The dominant media frames in the newsmagazines' reporting on Action Week defined the West European peace movement as illegitimate, irrational and ineffectual. The issues raised by the demonstrations were ignored because of the event orientation of the coverage and because of the attention devoted to the form of the protests. Within the symbolic world constructed by the newsmagazines, the demonstrations were divorced from their political context.

While it is now commonplace to stress the news media's constitutive role in defining social relations, this analysis reveals that Newsweek, Time and U.S. News provided hegemonic accounts of these protests. The interpretive patterns evident in their reportage were consistent with the American government's decision to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Within the newsmagazines' accounts, the peace movement's substantive challenge to this decision was ignored, its character was denigrated and its actions, by weakening the Western alliance, served the interests of the Soviet Union.

This analysis suggests that the American news media defines foreign social movements in ways consistent with American foreign

policy and military objectives. This examination further suggests that the hegemonic framing of foreign social movements becomes most evident when these movements directly challenge American foreign policy. At present, these conclusions remain tentative because this analysis was limited to the newsmagazines' coverage of the Action Week protests. Other content studies could determine whether the media frames in the newsmagazines' coverage also characterized other American news media definitions of these protests or whether similar interpretive patterns are present in news accounts of other foreign social movements.

As an example of content research, this study cannot draw conclusions about audience interpretations of the newsmagazines' "texts." We would suggest that the media frames evident in the coverage help to structure a readers' understanding of both the nature of the protests and the character of the protesters. This structuring is undoubtedly a complex process and one would expect a good deal of "interpretive variance" among readers in their decoding of these accounts.[91] It is clear from past research that the news media at times does influence the public's understanding of issues and events and that this influence is enhanced when the issues and events in question are removed from the audience's immediate experience.[92] In their investigation of British media coverage of an anti-war demonstration in London, Halloran, Elliott and Murdock demonstrated that audience interpretations of the protest were influenced by the news media's definition of the event.[93] More recently, Morley and Sigman and Fry have examined

the degree to which news media encodings influenced audience decodings of issues and events.[94] These analyses provide a useful framework for future studies exploring the ideological role of the mass media. While this study provides a detailed analysis of the newsmagazines' hegemonic ways of seeing, a comprehensive investigation of the American news media's ideological role in the coverage of foreign social movements needs to combine two related forms of inquiry: an analysis of media texts and an examination of audience interpretations of these texts.

NOTES

1 Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News (New York: Random House, 1979), p. 81.

2 Despite further protests, the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles began in November 1983.

3 See, for example, William C. Adams, ed., Television Coverage of International Affairs (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1983); William C. Adams, ed., Television Coverage of the Middle East (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1981); David Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, "Foreign News Coverage in Two U.S. Wire Services," Journal of Communication 31 (1981): 55-63.

4 See, for example, Gans, Deciding What's News; Gaye Tuchman, Making News, (New York: The Free Press, 1978); Edward J. Epstein, News From Nowhere (New York: Vintage Books, 1973); David Altheide, Creating Reality (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1974); Mark Fishman, Manufacturing The News (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1980); Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1980).

5 Gans, Deciding What's News, p. 298.

6 Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching, p. 2.

7 Tuchman, Making News, p. 12.

8 The research on the agenda-setting function of the news media is extensive. See, for example, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly (1972): 176-187; James Winters, "Contingent

Conditions in the Agenda-Setting Process," in Mass Communication Review Yearbook Volume 2, eds., G. Cleveland Wilhoit and Harold de Bock (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1981), pp. 235-243.

9 See Raymond Williams, The Sociology of Culture (New York: Schocken Books, 1981); Raymond Williams, Television: Technology and Cultural Form (New York: Schocken Books, 1974).

10 Williams, The Sociology of Culture, pp. 148-180.

11 James Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," Communication (1975) 1-22, p. 12.

12 For discussions of the importance of international news reporting in the American media see Robert Batscha, Foreign Affairs News and the Broadcast Journalist (New York: Prager, 1975); William C. Adams, "Covering the World in Ten Minutes: Network Coverage of International Affairs," in Television Coverage of International Affairs, ed., William C. Adams (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1983); Barry Rubin, International News and the American Media (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1977).

13 In 1983, Time's average paid circulation was over four million; Newsweek reached three million readers, while U.S. News reached slightly over two million readers. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, 1985).

14 Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching, p. 7.

15 For discussions of the concept of hegemony and its role in cultural analysis see Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (New York: International Publishers, 1971); Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

16 See, for example, Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching; Glasgow University Media Group, Bad News (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); Philip Schlesinger, Putting "Reality" Together (London: Sage, 1979).

17 Peter Dahlgren with Sumitra Chakrapani, "The Third World on TV News: Western Ways of Seeing the Other," in Television Coverage of International Affairs, ed., William C. Adams (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex 1982).

18 "Children of Protest," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, pp. 44-47.

19 "Now the Showdown Over Missiles," U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 24.

20 "Cold Winds and Heated Words," Time, 24 October 1983, p. 41.

21 "The Weekend That Was," Time, 31 October 1983, p. 49; "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 43.

22 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 38.

23 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 24; Time, 24 October 1983, p. 41.

24 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, pp. 24-25.

25 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

26 Time, 24 October 1983, p. 41.

27 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 49.

28 "Marchers Against the Missiles," Newsweek, 31 October 1983, p. 44.

29 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 36.

30 See, for example, Jane Blankenship, "The Search for the 1972 Democratic Nomination: A Metaphorical Perspective," in Rhetoric and Communication, eds., Jane Blankenship and Herman Stelzner (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 236-260; Thomas Benson, "Implicit Communication Theory in Campaign Coverage" in Television Coverage of the 1980 Presidential Campaign, ed., William C. Adams (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1983); Thomas Patterson, The Mass Media Election (New York: Praeger, 1980).

31 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 25.

32 Ibid., p. 254.

33 Time, 24 October 1983, p. 41.

34 Ibid., p. 41.

35 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 36.

36 Ibid., p. 39.

37 "Children of Protest," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 44.

38 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 36.

39 Stuart Hall, "The Determinations of News Photographs," in The Manufacture of News, eds., Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (London: Constable, 1981), pp. 226-243.

40 Newsweek, 31 October 1983, p. 44; Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

41 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

42 Newsweek, 31 October 1983, p. 44.

43 Ibid., p. 44.

44 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

45 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 36; Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

46 See Farrel Corcoran, "The Bear in the Back Yard: Myth, Ideology, and Victimage Ritual in Soviet Funerals," Communication Monographs 50 (1983): 305-320.

47 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 44.

48 Ibid., pp. 48-49.

49 Newsweek, 31 October 1983, p. 44.

50 See the discussions of the implications of the narrative form provided by: Paul Weaver, "The Politics of a News Story," in The Mass Media and Modern Democracy, ed., Harry Clor (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), pp. 85-112; Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, The Interplay of Influence (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1983), pp. 41-43.

51 Tuchman, Making News, p. 134.

52 Gans, Deciding What's News, p. 159.

53 Tuchman, Making News, p. 135.

54 See Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching; James Halloran, Philip Elliott and Graham Murdock, Demonstrations and Communication: A Case Study (London: Penguin, 1970).

55 See Tuchman, Making News; Monica Morris, "The Public Definition of a Social Movement: Women's Liberation,"

Sociology and Social Research 57 (1974): 526-543.

56 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 36.

57 Ibid., p. 38.

58 Newsweek, 31 October 1983, p. 44.

59 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 26.

60 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

61 See Rubin, International News and the American Media; Batscha, Foreign Affairs News and the Broadcast Journalist.

62 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 26.

63 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 43.

64 Ibid., p. 39.

65 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 49.

66 Ibid., p. 49.

67 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 26.

68 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 36.

69 Ibid., p. 40.

70 "Children of Protest," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, pp. 44-47.

71 Ibid., p. 47.

72 Ibid., p. 44.

73 Ibid., p. 44.

74 Ibid., p. 44.

75 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 24.

76 Newsweek, 31 October 1985, p. 44.

77 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 25.

78 Time, 24 October 1983, p. 41.

79 Ibid., p. 41.

80 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 49.

81 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, p. 25.

82 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 38.

83 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 49.

84 "Children of Protest," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 44.

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86 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 25.

87 U.S. News and World Report, 24 October 1983, pp. 24-25.

88 Time, 31 October 1983, p. 48.

89 "Battle Over Missiles," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 43.

90 "Children of Protest," Newsweek, 24 October 1983, p. 47.

91 For a useful discussion of the concept of interpretive variance and its relationship to the decoding of media texts see Horace Newcomb and Paul Hirsch, "Television as a Cultural Forum," in Interpreting Television: Current Research Perspectives, eds., Willard Rowland and Bruce Watkins (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1984).

92 See, for example, Harold Gene Zucker, "The Variable Nature of News Media Influence," in Communication Yearbook 2, ed., Brent Ruben (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1978), pp. 225-240.

93 Halloran, Elliott and Murdock, Demonstrations and Communication.

94 See David Morley, "Texts, Readers, Subjects," in Culture, Media, Language, eds., Stuart Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe and P. Willis (London: Hutchinson, 1980); Stuart Sigman and Donald

Fry, "Differential Ideology and Language Use: Readers' Reconstructions and Descriptions of News Events," Critical Studies in Mass Communication (1985): 307-322.